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ABSTRACT

Five talks given at a seminar on educational policy in foreign countries are presented in this document. The first contends that while schools established for Americans abroad tend to be isolated from the local community for several reasons, opportunities for extended cultural interchange exist and should be used. The second examines the nature of policy and its dissemination before reflecting on the position of educational administration in the context of evolving educational policy. According to a study reported in the third talk, the assumption that crisis situations can stimulate or lead to radical changes in governmental educational policy was found not to be accurate in the case of Israel's educational system following the 1973 Yom Kippur War. The fourth considers policy development in higher education on an international scale in Africa. The final talk concentrates on the possible contribution of anthropology to educational policy in developing countries, as exemplified in the development of policy for Australian Aboriginal schools. (Author/PGD)

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Educational Policy in Foreign Countries

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Introduction

The papers included in this publication were presented initially at a May 1977 seminar held at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Oregon. The seminar, which was sponsored by the Center for Educational Policy and Management and the University Council for Educational Administration, was designed to increase the understanding of educational policy and its development in nations throughout the world. Ambiguously titled as "Educational Policy in Foreign Countries," the seminar drew interest from universities throughout the United States and Canada. Participants from nearly a dozen countries participated in the three-day event by sharing their research and experiences.

Papers are included here according to their presentation order at the seminar. Stuart Young opened the seminar and this document by sharing his perceptions of American community schools and their relationship to the people whose country hosts and houses them. Young's experience in Pakistan, Jamaica and Norway provide the basis for his observations.

Leslie Gue keynoted the seminar by urging participants and readers to study the roots of the policy. He urged one to consider the need for and nature of policy in addition to the formulation and promulgation of policy.

Based on his recent research in Israel, Mordechai Peri examined the responsiveness of the Israeli National Educational Policy Making System to public demands made during the 1973 Yom-Kippur War. His research centered around the demands made at that time for civic education in the schools.

Asefa Gabrigiorgis provided a different setting and perspective as he urged readers to note three areas of concern which have policy implications in Ethiopia and in many African countries. Curriculum, academic freedom, and Africanization are basic issues which must be resolved as higher education expands in Africa.

Australian Neil Holm, who had spent much time among the Australian Aborigines, discussed educational policies which affect their lives. He went on to discuss how the study of anthropology can contribute to the policy-making process.

Taken together, the papers present a backdrop (Gue's paper) of educational policy against which the others can reflect. As a result of reading the papers, the reader should have a better understanding of policy, policy formulation, and the vagaries of policy as it develops throughout the world.

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Relations Between American Community Schools and Their Host Countries

by
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A variety of schools and learning networks is operated around the world outside of the United States. This paper briefly examines the major types of schools, their settings, and some potential implications which the relationship of these schools to the host country has in terms of educational policy.

American schools operating around the globe can be divided into four basic categories: Military, missionary, embassy, and private. Different family backgrounds and expectations mean that student bodies of these schools differ substantially; however, each school follows the somewhat nebulous American learning model. Many students' parents work in remote geographical areas, thus boarding units often accompany missionary and some private business schools.

Military and embassy schools usually are established where large numbers of American personnel are located. Embassy school populations incorporate students from families of many countries and create a diverse student body with high parental expectations and motivation. The school adheres to an American curriculum; the tuition, normally quite high, is paid by the sponsoring government.

Complexities of establishing an American school overseas can be understood by imagining the removal of a local U.S. elementary or secondary school and transplanting it into another culture. The accompanying culture shock is a reoccuring, evolving, and repetitive process as families join

the new school setting. The adopted culture, previous cultural values, and attitudes of students toward learning, affect the school setting as they interrelate with differences in peer group pressure, social expectations, and learning styles. By studying the multitude of complex interactions between students, teachers, and administrators in multi-cultural settings, one can begin to understand the difficulties of establishing an American learning system in a foreign country.

I have been affiliated with American schools in Pakistan, Jamaica, and Norway and have become increasingly aware of the subtle tensions that develop within the small educational community. The tensions are the by-product of the interaction of the previously-mentioned variables; however, some insight can be gained by answering five basic questions.

The first question, originally posed by a Norwegian teacher on our staff in Stavanger, is, "Why do American schools exist around the world?" The typical response to such a question might be, "So that American students might gain entrance into Universities," or "Because our American way of learning is superior to other types of educational systems."

Analyzing typical responses, I would conclude that the argument for "superiority" has been probably the most potent, underlying rationale in the founding of these schools. Today American universities accept students who have successfully demonstrated competency in a secondary school in another culture. Many countries now offer courses in English and providing tutorial aid would certainly be easier to provide than developing a total school program abroad.

Nevertheless, most U.S. citizens believe that although educational systems vary greatly throughout the U.S., education is an important cultural expression that has produced a system leading the world in many ways; therefore, it must be superior and is necessary for our young people wherever they live. With this attitude, possibly the greatest loser is the American student who, like his/her parents, can become isolated from the culture in which s/he is living and therefore does not receive the wealth of learning occurring through multi-cultural experiences.

The second question relates to numerous problems created for both the host country and American schools. Some have to do with pay scales, staffing, faculty relationships, student discipline, grading, and a myriad of other topics found in most organizations. However, the following problems illustrates additional complexities which the American school administrator must handle in an overseas setting.

Frequently, three pay scales will be used to compensate three different kinds of teachers. A staff might include American teachers hired in the U.S., teachers from the host country, and teachers from other countries. Each may be paid at a different rate for performing similar tasks, and morale problems are a natural off-shoot of the differentiated pay scale. Hostility commonly occurs toward locally-hired teachers by others in the host society who make significantly less while performing similar types of jobs in the host country. In a developing country, a locally-hired teacher at an American school might be compensated at a rate equivalent to a high government official. This differentiation also creates problems for the teacher when the teacher leaves the American school setting to work elsewhere within the country.

A third issue is classroom control and expectations. Each teacher brings a set of cultural and academic expectations to the classrooms. These expectations cause difficulties when teachers from other cultures attempt to teach American high school students. Without adequate (often non-existent), in-service programs to identify expectations, techniques, and teacher rights, the uneasiness is converted into insecurity frequently perceived by students as lack of intelligence or authority. Thus, the most competent teacher will have extreme difficulty completing a year with any satisfaction. In addition, the teacher often loses respect for the American educational system and the student.

Another problem is elitism: Frequently, the American School becomes the elite school for the area, within a developing country, thus high income families wish to send their children to the school. The result of elitism is increased difficulty for students who wish to participate in the local culture. In addition, negative feelings occur from other students in the host country toward the wealthy students from their own country who are attending the "rich" American school.

These are, of course, a number of the problems in these types of schools, and administrators accepting the challenge of working in these settings need to find ways to understand the issues, and so to maximize the learning potential of students.

The third question is, "What benefits are derived from shared relationships?" The obvious response is that living in another country provides an opportunity for students, teachers, and administrators to become familiar with another culture. Equally important is that the people of

the host country can learn about the United States. Sadly, however, American personnel often become isolated from people of the host country. The isolation can take place when housing is located in one area, i.e., in an "American ghetto" or within a military compound.

Yet the opportunity for sharing and learning exists in abundance. For example, ample opportunity exists for guest lectures to present a different point of view from what an American teacher or text might. Athletic events provide opportunities for learning new games and competing within another system. Cultural exchanges in the form of shared social events can provide understandings that cannot be garnered from textbook reading.

Question four is an extension of the third question as it involves potential long-range benefits that can be derived from living in another culture. Philip H. Coombs, author of The World Educational Crisis, writes that "Exchanges in educational systems represent the most plausible method and hope for easing tensions and creating world understanding." He says that through learning about others and by taking time to understand facets of another culture, we also learn about ourselves. The natural by-product is an increased understanding about the political realities in our surrounding world.

Let me cite two examples of specific methods of creating avenues for student exposure to the host country's culture. In Pakistan, the school administration created a Pakistani culture class. The students spent the first few weeks of the quarter studying customs and history of the host country. The latter part of the quarter was spent in three- and four-day field trips where the students lived in the villages and with the people, helping with daily routine and eating the food. The debriefing

sessions following the trips provided the students with the opportunity to share experiences and raise questions, and the over-all result was a deeper understanding by the participating students -- an understanding that few others will have and one that long will be remembered.

Also in Norway, a creative administration organized learning experiences which ranged from the inclusion of historical and political studies of Scandinavia and other European countries to train trips or guest speakers. The main point is that the potential exists and that the long-range benefit will be an expression of the concept of exchange which Coombs envisaged as a significant means of understanding our world better.

Finally, "What methods can be employed to help expand the relationship between the host country and the American school?" Teacher, student, and administrative exchanges seem an obvious beginning to bring about sharing. However, for more sharing to occur, the administration in the host country needs to recognize the importance of such activities and to begin to develop contractual obligations expressing the sharing concern when schools are established within that particular country. Ideally, the outcome of increased awareness and sharing would be the formulation of international learning and resource centers or laboratories which would attempt to integrate and coordinate some of the concepts, human and technical resources, and knowledge.

If American educations will accept the view that people of other cultures have much to offer, and if they will promote an interest in sharing with another country, the hope of Coombes and the ideal of developing

resources can be accomplished. I believe this coordination important and the potential exciting. With an open attitude between American community schools and the host countries in terms of cooperative energy in formulating educational policy, the coordination of resources can be become a reality.

THE ROOTS OF POLICY

by

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Policy is needed in life because of the selfishness and skill of human beings in seeking their own ends at the expense of other human beings. Humans are perpetually wanting creatures, and the wants are complex and often in conflict. Consider that individuals have at the same time needs for freedom and for limits, for justice and for power, for stability and for novelty, for tenderness and for violence, for solitariness and the company of others. The list could be extended greatly. To meet these needs, humans have a high level of intellectual, rational, physical, emotional and linguistic capacities compared with any other living creatures. Regrettably often, humans use these capacities in a ruthless, self-serving manner, taking advantage of other humans, living creatures, and the organizations they presumably serve.

To balance this gloomy view of man, however, consider this statement from Freud:

> The voice of the intellect is a soft one, but it does not rest until it has gained a hearing. Finally, after a countless succession of rebuffs, it succeeds. This is one of the few points on which one may be optimistic about the future of mankind, but it is in itself a point of no small importance. (1927)

If all this be true, then the setting of policy to protect humans against themselves is of crucial and continuing importance.

The Nature of Policy

It is trite to say that human beings prefer to live in groups, but this phenomenon makes imperative the setting of policy for group inter-

actions. McClellan (1971:170) suggests that it is possible to conceive of a society so harmonious and unified that all its members agree instantly and unanimously about education. He adds that such a society is not the United States--nor Canada, I might add. In order to cope, then, with disagreements and conflicts based upon diverging perceptions, values and goals in individuals, human groups establish social institutions--"orderly, stable, socially integrating forms and structures" (Broom and Selznick, 1973:232). Obvious examples are the family, religion, law, economic systems, political systems, and education. Few have been carefully designed, as Popper (1969:65) points out, but have "just grown" as the undesigned results of human actions. It is the purpose of policy and policy making to provide guides to action in changing social institutions in an attempt to provide just, humane, and efficient interpersonal interaction.

What is Policy?

Lasswell and Kaplan (1950:71) suggest that policy is

> ...a projected program of goal values and practices... The application of identification, demands and expectations concerning the future of interpersonal relations of the self.

Dye (1976:1) holds that, "Public policy is what governments choose to do or not to do." This is certainly a highly pragmatic, existential proposition! Anderson (1975:3) believes that a policy is "...a purposive problem or matter of concern." Higginson (1966:4) offers a concise statement averring that "...policy is a guide for carrying out action." Although dictionary definitions are not always helpful in clarifying terms in the social sciences, Webster's Third New International Dictionary, in this instance, is useful in defining policy in terms of "a definite course of action selected by a government, institution, group or indivi-

dual from among alternatives, in order to guide present and future action."

Organization theorists Katz and Kahn (1966:259) propose policy making as

> prospective generalizations about what organizational behavior shall be, at a level implying changes in organizational structure.

and in a cogent statement, McClellan (1971:169) differentiates between prayers, pleas, promptings and policy by setting forth a "minimum definition of 'policy'":

> A policy is a statement that is:
>
> (1) Intended to be a binding guide on the actions of those designated by the statement;
> (2) enforceable and enforced by the society (large or small) which formulates it;
> (3) formulated and adopted through a political process--that is, a process which acknowledges the reality and legitimacy of conflicting interests and desires among its participants.

Although considerable variation exists in the several definitions above, the central strand emerging is that policy is concerned with the guiding of personal action in a changing organizational context. In considering evolving educational policy, one should note that people force change upon themselves, frequently not realizing their own participation in the process. An elderly North American Indian with three years of schooling asked the writer in 1962, "Who is making things change so fast?" I am not sure that I know any better now than I did 15 years ago. I think the answer must be, "We are."

Social institutions do not change permanently against the wishes of the great majority of a people. Rejection of change is somewhere on a continuum from complete apathy and anomie to violent revolution. (Parenthetically, rejection of insufficient change is demonstrated on a similar continuum). Ergo, policy which is completely inappropriate to a setting in an era will be fought or disregarded. Policy which is partially acceptable will go through agonizingly long re-shaping and tinkering. I suggest that present parliamentary processes are in this category.

Policy, Goals, and Values

Policy is always formulated in a context of goals and values. Goals, whether personal or organizational, are considered to be a desired state of affairs. Values in this context are considered to be conceptions of that which is good, just, fair, desirable, worthwhile.

Consider some of the values implicit in discussion of these policy questions in education:

Should the institution of education perpetuate: a culture? a political system? power elites? exploitative policies regarding relations with foreign countries (Curle, 1970:viii)? a language? a vision of human 'self-actualization?' "the basics?" Clearly, values from a number of major facets of culture underly these current questions for policy makers in educational systems.

A recent startling example where the value premises in policy surfaced like a projectile is the setting before the legislation of the province of Quebec, in Canada, on April 27, 1977, a Bill symbolically entitled "Bill 1". This Bill would make French the only legal language in Quebec, for courts, business, and education (with some provision for

children who have at least one parent who attended English school). This is the first major salvo in the attempt of the current provincial government to have Quebec secede from Canada and form a separate nation. The aim of Bill 1 is to preserve the French-Canadian culture, using education as a major tool. The proposed policy of Quebec has direct roots in the policy of the British Government 200 years ago when Quebec, a French colony, was made an English colony by military conquest.

The Formulation of Policy

Policy formulation can, in one sense, be classed broadly as either individual or collective. In the individually-set mode, many cultural groups have gone through an era of the "divine right of kings," (Butts: 6,7) where government policy, devised and promulgated by the monarch, was inextricably interwoven with religion. Some foreign countries have strong undertones of this political philosophy in the present era, frequently implicit rather than explicit, and thus most difficult for those from another culture to handle administratively. Some business tycoons have had almost sole power to set policy, and examples abound of military generals who have had and used such policy making power, sometimes successfully, sometimes disastrously.

Under the category of collective policy making, several stages can be identified. Moving from absolute despotism, many monarchs arrived at (or were forced to establish) an inner circle or cabinet other than the informal favorites of the past who had the King's ear. An outstanding example of such a group getting out of hand and forcing the King into new policies were the knights of King John of England, who on June 15, 1215, forced him to sign Magna Carter, the charter of British civil liberties. The beginnings of written policies were being seen in England. To the group of policy setters

were gradually added experts, whose influence on policy was (and is) profound.

A next step in the history of policy formation lay in the hard-won rights of lay people to not only help set policy through advice, but to establish it through legislative bodies to which they were elected. With this level of development of policy came the need for education, stated stirringly by Jefferson as he pleaded for an educated citizenry for the democracy. "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." (1816) And because policy making in legislatures, congresses, councils, and parliaments does not include implementation, administrators came into being to ensure that the will of the people was carried out. They, in turn, have replaced the king's favorites or his cabal in advising and helping to set policy.

Katz and Kahn (1966:260) suggest another possible categorization of policy formulation. The first is the formulation of organizational goals and objectives; the second is the formulation of strategies and procedures for achieving and assessing progress towards such goals.

Policy formulation, then, is done by many people in many settings. One of the enduring values of Western cultures is that policy should be made only by representatives of the people in order to ensure fair and just treatment for all. That this concept is honored in the breach as much as the observance is only too plain in all countries in the world. Daniels (1973:129) cites an example where a Treasury Board Minute of the Government of Canada established a policy of kindergartens for Indian children, among many other policies governing Indian education.

The administration of policy sometimes leads the courts of law into setting policy. Indeed, the traditional three arms of government--legislative,

executive, judiciary--form a societal fabric which makes policy setting channels and patterns tortuous. The existence of various levels of courts attests to the fact that the law as written is not always clear, and recourse must be made to the courts on grounds of natural justice and the intent of legislators. A recent example from the province of Alberta, Canada, concerns the allocation of tax revenues from corporations to Protestant or Catholic school jurisdictions. A lack of clarity in the law concerning the religious affiliation of a corporation eventuated in a court case which in effect set policy. In the case in question, a taxation Board had ruled that a substantial amount of revenue be taken from one school board and given to the other. A later Supreme Court ruling returned the revenue to the first system. We have not yet heard the last of this, as there is a further level of the Canadian judiciary to which the case can be appealed.

Promulgation of Policy

Dissemination of policy, particularly public policy, ranges all the way from the town crier of old to the immensely complicated and bulky printed laws of today. A thorny problem in assessing the credibility of legislation is the form in which it is released to the public and to junior levels of government. In Canada, a formal "Act" of Parliament has much more status than Orders-In-Council, Ministerial Orders, Agreements, or Letters of Understanding. One example was noted a number of years ago when the use of funds for rehabilitation of disabled persons in Canada doubled in one year as a result of subordinate legislation (agreements) being replaced by an Act, duly debated and passed in Parliament. It then became "law". Yet in this connection, Wirt and Kirst (1972:147) cite Emerson on law:

> The law is only a memorandum...The Statute stands there to say, Yesterday we agreed so and so, but how feel ye this article today? Our statute is a currency which we stamp with our own portrait: It soon becomes unrecognizable, and in process of time will return to the mint.

International agreements, charters and constitutions of nations should presumably carry the greatest credibility of all, because nations sign them, yet as policy documents they are at the present time among the weakest in the world. Obviously their promulgation is policy without implementation.

Implementation of Policy

Once policy has been established, it needs must be implemented. However, as Katz and Kahn (1966:262) point out so strongly, the Wilsonian dichotomy between policy and administration is now rejected out of hand. The influence of the administrator upon policy formulation is pervasive, profound, and at times frightening. The degree of influence is, of course a function of the level in the hierarchy which the administrator occupies; nevertheless, the bulk of the administrator's working time is spent implementing policy decided by others.

Penalties for Infraction or Failure of Policy

Oddly enough, we accept as just the penalty of violence for infractions of policy in the form of law. McClellan (1971:169) points out that

> As educational policy has come to be a central concern of sovereign nations, we have come to think that the foundation of all educational policy must be law and thus to think that violence is the final but indispensable mode of enforcement of educational policy.

"Violence", of course, is not necessarily physical, although the Criminal Code of Canada allows teachers the use of force upon a pupil (Gue, 1977:84). The Code was revised within the last five years, and the clause allowing for force stands. The usual personal penalties for infraction of policy are

verbal attacks, loss of salary or wages, denial of promotion or fringe benefits, and exclusion by the formal or informal organization. Organizationally, "violence" could be the loss of research grants, the shrinking of an administrative establishment, withholding of funds for buildings, or relegating units or individuals to undesirable settings.

Failure of a policy can result in failure of a projected change to reach its stated or implied goals, with the resulting loss of status, power and wealth of governments, organizations, or individuals.

Failure of a new policy is an ever-present fear of both developed and developing countries. Examples abound of foreign aid projects which have failed, internal reforms which have failed, and grand schemes which were never approved. In terms of great designs for social reform, Popper (1966:64-70) strongly supports what he terms "piecemeal social engineering," as opposed to "Utopian Engineering." Similar to Dahl and Lindblom's "incrementalism" (1953:82), in essence, Popper suggests that holistic social engineering will have so many unexpected consequences that piecemeal improvisation will have to be attempted in any case. Popper picturesquely calls this piecemeal improvisation "unplanned planning."

The failure of policy, or its infraction may therefore lead directly back to the roots of new policy. Administrators and policy makers alike are naive if they think that predictability is possible concerning the long-range effects of policy decisions. Human beings are prone to think on the scale of decades or lifetimes, but, as historians such as Toynbee points out, millenia are possibly a more suitable unit.

Educational Administration and Evolving Policy

I conclude with five reflections upon educational administration in the context of evolving educational policy.

1. A paradox exists concerning the stance of educational administration towards its own history and towards the history of education. The current generation of educational administrators tend for the large part to assume that the present forms and substances of education are the norm. In fact, they are the development of the last century, a very short time in the history of mankind, and, indeed, of education. Illich's book De-schooling Society (1970) caught many an administrator unprepared to accept the fact that the comfortable Federal-State-Local framework for education, with the usual buildings in which to provide education, might possibly be dysfunctional. In the 6,000 years of recorded history, our form of education is quite recent. And the present hierarchies of administrative positions are really the creation of the last thirty years. In spite of Popper's strong adjuration about the impossibility of there ever being theoretical history from which future history can be predicted, (1969:vi) thorough knowledge of the enduring patterns of education down through the millenia would be appropriate for administrators as counsellors to policy makers.

2. A second reflection concerns the ethos of authoritarianism that pervades educational administration. Early religious sponsorship of education, and still current (and increasingly severe) (Gue, 1977:48) compulsory attendance laws, lead administrators to believe that they are right and have a responsibility towards those less fortunate than themselves. This authoritarian or dogmatic stance is ably documented by Adorno and Rokeach, as they discuss gullibility being one facet of the profile of the authoritarian personality. One is tempted to speculate that there may be a relationship beteen authoritarian administrators and the uncritical acceptance of such ephemeral innovations as "teaching machines," or ill-tested panaceas such as team teaching and open areas. Another fact of the authoritarian

person is the imposition of more and more severe punishment for infraction of rules, regulations and laws. An observation from Emerson (1861) seems appropriate here. In his usual penetrating way, he states, "I see not why we should give ourselves such sanctified airs."

3. A third comment upon administrators and overt policy makers concerns what Packard and Willower (1972:78) have termed "pluralistic ignorance." A rather comical example, easily rectified, occurred in a Western Canadian city several years ago. With no prior warning, the central administration of a large urban school district announced in the spring of the year that commencing that year the summer vacation would be in June and July instead of July and August. To their reported amazement, thousands of letters, telephone calls and personal visits descended upon them, the school board, and the Minister of Education in the two weeks following the announcement. The "policy" was quickly rescinded!

4. The fear of knowledge is a fourth hazard for administrators. One of the goals of education in many school jurisdictions is development of capacity for critical thinking. Apparently this is a "Good Thing" when applied outside the world of the administrator, but a "Bad Thing" when focused on the administrator's policies. Creative persons are equally unpopular with administrators, as has been documented in several places. One creative administrator causes repeated concern in a larger urban school, with his aphorism. "It's easier to get forgiveness than permission." Administrators wishing to improve policy could study the implications of Polanyi's observation upon "...our craving for understanding...and the intellectual passion which compels us towards making ever closer contact with reality" (1959:34). Although sometimes painful to bear, increased knowledge can only improve policy.

5. A fifth obstacle to policy setting is ethnocentrism in administration. The belief that our own culture is best, and all others different and inferior has been especially noticeable in the evolving of policy towards foreign countries. Only too often, inappropriate and costly Western industrial society ideas have been foisted upon less-developed countries eager to modernize. For example, I received a rude shock from a senior official in Canadian International Development Agency some five years ago with the challenge, "How do you know you are not exporting obsolescence in your Thai Comprehensive School Project?" The thought had never crossed my mind in the six years of the Project to that time. I think I have a partial answer now, but the question still haunts me, and perhaps sparked my continued interest in the subject of ethnocentrism. (Gue and Smith, 1977).

Conclusion

Not wishing to end this paper as a prophet of doom, I would like to affirm that in spite of the many known, unknown, and irrational roots of policies in education, the record of the average level of education or citizens in North America and many other countries is improving steadily. Although more illiterate people are in the world today than ever before, and the proportion is rising, the numbers of better-educated people is rising also. In spite of all the possibilities for bad policy, we must have had a large number of good policies in education, or society would have thrown us out long ago.

Let our goal in the evolving of educational policy be the improvement of our understanding of the policy making process, and a comparable improvement of the human condition everywhere. As we consider policy in an

ethos of internationalism, it would be useful to dwell on the motto found at the main entrance to the University of Hawaii in Honolulu:

"ABOVE ALL NATIONS LIES HUMANITY"

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Israeli National Values: Demands and Responsiveness

by

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In a recent study[1] I examined the responsiveness of the Israeli National Educational Policy Making System (NEPS)[2] to public demands made during the crisis period after October 1973 Yom-Kippur War, demands directed specifically to the issue of civic education.

Since the establishment of the state of Israel, civic education has been the subject of periodic public and political debate (Eisenstadt, 1967:373-375; Kleinberger 1969:323-330; Herman, 1970:35-38). The anxiety of the older generation of Israelis over the apparent weakness of the younger generation's Jewish and/or Zionist identity has done much to keep this issue alive. For example, in 1967, there was public controversy and debate in the Israeli parliament--the Knesset--concerning the apparent ignorance of Israeli youngsters in Jewish and Zionist history (Herman, 1970:37-38).

From October 1973 through 1974 and, to a lesser extent, during 1975, civic education reappeared as a volatile issue. Immediately following the Yom-Kippur War, again it was the subject of innumerable discussions, speeches, articles and newspapers reports. The topic triggered criticism of the Israeli educational system and a multitude of demands. Directed at NEPS, some of the demands called for radical changes and many were mutually exclusive.

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[1]For a fuller account see Peri, Mordechai. "The Responsiveness of the Israeli National Educational Policy Making System to Demands for Change, 1973-75" unpublished dissertation, University of Oregon, 1977.

[2]The National Educational Policy Making System (NEPS) is my own term and refers to the Israeli Ministry of Education.

Demands for educational change during a post-war period are not unprecedented. A comprehensive comparative study of the effect of World War II on education in the English speaking world and Europe found that during the post-war era "in every country there was a strong demand for radical reform in education" (Jeffery, 1948:11). In response to the demands,most governments implemented educational policy changes in such directions as equality of educational opportunity, extention of facilities for technical and vocational education, and civic education.

That crisis situations such as wars can stimulate or may lead to radical changes in governmental policy is a widely acceptable assumption (e.g. Wright 1942:256; Lindblom and Braybrooke, 1963:61-79). In the light of this assumption, I believed that examination of both the demands directed at NEPS during the post- Yom-Kippur War period and the NEPS' responsiveness would be particularly fruitful.

The study was divided into two major parts. The first part included a description of the demands directed at NEPS from October 1973 through 1974, and a description of NEPS' responsiveness, namely its output decisions and actions. David Easton's political system theory (1965, 1965a) provided the framework for the data collection[3] and this descriptive part. In the second part of the study, I attempted to explain why NEPS and its organizational sub-units chose these particular decisions and actions. This analysis followed two explanatory paradigms of decision-making developed by G. Allison (1971).

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[3]The data were gathered in Israel during Fall 1975 and were obtained from three principle sources: (1) governmental documents, (2) newspaper accounts, and (3) interviews with NEPS authorities and Knesset members.

The Demands

In November 1973, shortly after the Yom Kippur War, the Ministry of Education (NEPS) held a symposium at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem (Governmental Document, 1973). Prominent Israeli educators, professors and philosophers discussed the effects of the war on the educational system. All participants expressed deep concern over the deterioration of values in Israeli society. Post-primary school students and young Israelis in the army had been raising disturbing questions, indicating their dissatisfaction with and grave doubts about basic national values, i.e., Zionism and Judaism.[4] Symposium participants also expressed anxiety over the apparent inability of many teachers to respond to students'questions. Special reference was made to the doubts by young Israelis questioning "our right to the land of Israel."

The Van-Leer Conference was not only the prelude to the civic education issue but also, to a large extent, a synoptic preview of the demands made in the following year (1974) by various segments of the Israeli society. Many of these demands were either explicitly or implictly associated with the pheonomenon of the youngsters' disturbing queries and with the issue of civic education.

Demands pertaining to this issue were divided into seven categories. Below I will briefly outline the principle arguments of six demand categories and discuss in some detail, as an example, the seventh category.

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[4]During 1974, newspaper accounts frequently discussed the perplexing questions and opinions posed by Israeli youngsters. For example, in September and October 1974 H'aretz, the largest Israeli daily newspaper, published a series of eight articles entitled "The Question Marks of Grade Twelve Students". Some of the questions and opinions quoted by H'aretz were: "This state is a washed up state"; "I doubt our right to this land"; and "The Jewish nation? Just a regular nation? Why is it so important to fight for its existence"? (Rivon, 1974)

(1) Decentralization of the System. Proponents of this idea claimed that encouraging parents and parent councils to participate in school life, in addition to the delegating authority and responsibility to local communities for their own schools would improve the sense of community among students and parents and the overall educational environment.

(2) Cancellation of the Matriculation Examinations. The principle concerns of supporters of this demand centered on students in grades eleven and twelve. The supporters argued that these students and their teachers devote most of their time to preparation for the matriculation examinations; therefore, civic education was receiving at best, superficial attention.

(3) Strengthening National Consciousness of Teachers. Critics of the educational system claimed many post-primary teachers lacked adequate preparation to deal competently with problems of Jewish and Zionist identity among Israeli youth. Some critics demanded that NEPS exert influence on the universities to alter their programs accordingly.

(4) More Emphasis on Judaism and Zionism in the Curriculum. Many demands were aimed at the curriculum of post-primary schools, primarily the general (non-religious) schools. Religious and ultra-nationalist political and educational leaders suggested that a greater part of the curriculum be devoted to national studies, i.e., to ancient Jewish history, Jewish and Zionist modern history, biblical and post-biblical (oral law) studies, and Jewish nationalist writers.

(5) Halting Education for National Values. This demand had been repeatedly expressed by respected Israeli writer Yizhar Smilansky. His basic argument was that education for national values is always, in and of itself,

indoctrination (Smilansky, 1974).

(6) Encouraging Political and Ideological Debates in Schools. Proponents of this demand claimed that civic education could not succeed should the social and political sterilization of schools continue. They suggested encouraging debates in schools on such issues as the Arab-Israeli conflict, the energy crisis, and the relations between Israel and the Jewish Diaspora.

(7) Unification of "Trends". The Israeli Hebrew public school system follows two principle "trends," General State Education and Religious State Education. About seventy percent of the Israeli Jewish students (grades K to twelve) study in the general trend schools and about twenty-five percent in the religious trend schools.[5]

A greater part of the religious trend curriculum is devoted to Jewish studies (oral law, Jewish history, etc.) than in the general trend curriculum. The religious trend is supervised by the NEPS' Department of Religious Education which has, by law, supreme authority on all pedagogic matters related to the religious schools (Kleinberger 1969:119-129). This department's policies and personnel are heavily influenced by the "National Religious Party--the major religious party--which held 10 out of 120 seats in the 1974-77 Knesset. Consequently, although the 1963 State Education Law removed state schools from direct domination by political parties (Staner, 1963) the religious trend remained strongly attached to the National Religious Party.

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[5] In addition there is a minor special trend: Independent Education, an ultra-religious trend, partially sponsored and supervised by the Ministry of Education.

During the debate about civic education both religious and non-religious political and educational leaders agreed that the key to strengthening Jewish and Zionist identity among Israeli youth was to be found in the general trend schools. (Studies about the Jewish and Zionist identity of Israeli youth showed that this problem was more acute among students of the general trend than among students of the religious trend, Harman, 1970.) Many demands and criticism were aimed at the general trend schools. For example, religious newspaper commentator claimed that only religious teachers should teach Jewish studies in the general schools. Teaching Jewish studies without practicing Jewish religion was the core of the Jewish identity problem among the general school students, this commentator argued (Avivi, 1974).

In the last quarter of 1974 several religious and non-religious leaders demanded that the general trend and the religious trend be unified. Three conflicting means to achieve this unification were posed: (a) cancelling the religious trend and incorprating it into the general trend, (b) providing religious education for all, and (c) cancelling both trends, establishing instead a single system that would emphasize Jewish studies.

Before attempting to outline the NEPS' responsiveness, note that these seven categories of demands were regarded in the study as alternative policy strategies. NEPS, however, did not regard these demands as the only possible set of alternative strategies.

NEPS' Responsiveness

In response to the demands NEPS took certain decisions and actions. Methodologically, I made a distinction between strategic decisions and tactical decisions. Strategic decisions were defined as those choices that set basic directions of action toward a goal or goals. Tactical decisions were defined as means of action chosen within the context set by strategic decisions.

Strategies. NEPS employed two strategies: (1) dissemination of factual and ideological information through informal education and (2) public statements.

High level NEPS personnel decided in their first official meeting on the civic education problem (November 18, 1973) that two kinds of information would be promulgated to students and teachers. Factual information concerning Israel's political and social situation would be disseminated in various ways such as pamphlets and reports. Ideological information would be disseminated on civic problems such as Zionist and Jewish identity. This strategy formed a basic guideline for several tactical decisions made by NEPS and its sub-units during the time studied.

The Minister of Education, the Assistant Minister, the Director General and the Head of the Pedagogical Secretariat, made many public statements throughout the period under study. While addressing the issue in the media and in the Knesset, these authorities repeatedly clarified NEPS policies, revealed its plans and intentions, and responded to certain demands and criticisms.

Tactics. In order to plan and coordinate implementing actions in civic education, NEPS established an ad-hoc committee for Ideological and Social Activities (PERACH). The tactical decisions made by PERACH and by other sub-units of NEPS were categorized as follows:

(1) Publication of ideological and political material. Two kinds of material were published: (a) a textbook for classroom use, "The Arab-Israeli Conflict", and (b) pamphlets and reports used in informal education, e.g., the discussions and debates introduced by the homeroom teachers during the weekly "social hour".

(2) Ideological seminars. In the 1973-74 school year, seminars on Judaism and Zionism were organized for students in grades eleven and twelve in several institutions. These were expended in the 1974-76 academic year and in addition preparatory seminars for service in the army were established for grade twelve students.

(3) Meetings and conferences in post-primary schools. These meetings were for the purpose of introducing post-primary students to eminent persons, e.g., intellectuals and army officers to foster discussions of current and ideological issues.

(4) Dissemination through educational television. An ad-hoc committee revised and recommended a list of programs dealing with current political and social problems and with Zionist ideology and Judaism. Tailored for "social hour" discussions in grades ten through twelve, the programs were broadcast during the 1973-74 and 1974-75 school years.

(5) Dissemination through GADNA programs (grade 9-11 Youth Corps). Three GADNA programs were selected by PERACH for the purpose of disseminating information: National Service, Training Bases and Field Schools.

(6) Teacher conferences on civic education. Two nation-wide conferences were held in 1973-74 during Chanuka and Passover vacations. These were dropped during 1974-75, but a pre-service and in-service training program was offered for teachers who held the position of Social Education Coordinators in post-primary schools.

The remainder of the study focused on the decisions leading to NEPS adopting the aforementioned strategies and tactics. Here the principle question was: Why did NEPS authorities make certain decisions and take particular actions?

Decisions Concerning Strategies and Tactics

Strategic Decisions. NEPS strategies were viewed as a response to the problem of decline in support, apparent in the numerous criticisms and demands expressed by important members of the educational and political systems. The goal that NEPS intended to maximize was the maintenance of support for the educational system in general, and for itself in particular among important sectors of its political environment. Accordingly, NEPS strategic decisions were contingent on cost and benefit considerations in terms of support loss and/or support gain. NEPS would select the alternative strategy that would maximize support (or minimize opposition) among its environment.

As a result of these considerations NEPS rejected most of the demands. For example, let us re-examine the three model demands for the unification of the trends mentioned earlier. NEPS rejected these demands because implementing unification according to any of them would have met strong opposition. Cancelling the religious trend and incorporating it into the general trend would have weakened the National Religious Party's control over education. Inasmuch as the NRP's political support has always been crucial to the coalition government, they possess the necessary power to maintain their present share of influence. Furthermore, incorporating the religious trend into the general trend might have been viewed by religious parents as an impairment of freedom to educate their children in a religious way of life.

Religious education for all might also have met a strong opposition considering that (a) the majority of Israel's Jewish population is non-religious, (b) the majority of Jewish students attend general (non-religious) schools, and (c) the majority of the Knesset are not members of the religious parties. Whereas the cancellation of the religious trend would be strongly opposed by the religious sector and religious education for all would be equally rejected by the non-religious sector, a creation of a single system emphasizing Jewish studies might have increased the controversy over the definition of Judaism, already an issue between the religious and the non-religious sectors.[6]

Adopting the strategy of disseminating information through informal educational channels was by implication an acceptance of the demand for the encouragement of political and ideological debates in the schools. The emphasis on informal education enabled NEPS to respond partially to the demands of religious and ultra-nationalist politicians for more emphasis on Judaism and Zionism in the curriculum, while minimizing the opposition of moderate nationalists who criticizied the curriculum for being too chauvinistic. Furthermore, choosing the informal approach decreased the likelihood of charges of indoctrination since it provides more opportunities for exchanges of opinions between adults and students than does teaching through formal curricular materials.

The strategy of public statements served NEPS to maintain the general public support. By repeatedly declaring that the educational system had committed itself to placing the highest priority on education for national values, NEPS impressed upon the public consciousness its positive

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[6]For an account of the controversial issue "Who is a Jew?" see Eisenstadt, 1967:311-315 and Birnbaum, 1970:178-189.

response to this predominant demand. Also, this strategy was a common response because statements, unlike actions, could be put together in such ways (e.g. ambiguously) and or at different times to appeal simultaneously to opposing sectors.

Tactical Decisions. Three basic characteristics seemed to be inherent in most of the tactical decisions made by various NEPS sub-units. The first characteristic was that all these decisions emerged from the strategy of dissemination of information through informal education. Note that all of the means chosen--publications, ideological seminars, post-primary school meetings, educational television, GADNA and the teacher conferences--facilitated the dissemination of information, and all were related to the extra-curricular domain. Secondly, most of the tactical decisions were merely modifications or expansions of programs and procedures that had already been established or planned prior to the decisions made by PERACH and other sub-units. Finally, these decisions shared a tendency to concentrate on the post-primary level, particularly on grades ten through twelve. Inasmuch as the senior post-primary students were the major source of the perplexing questions and criticisms, this concentration illustrates the tendency of organizational decision makers to focus on the problem or the discomfort to be avoided (Allison 1971:84).

Conclusion

Of seven demands only one, encouraging ideological and political debates in schools, was fully met by NEPS. Another demand, more emphasis on Zionism and Judaism in the curriculum, received only partial response. The remaining five were actually rejected though they were given recognition through public statements. NEPS' responsiveness and non-responsiveness were intepreted as contingent on support considerations.

Three of the five demands--for decentralization, cancellation of the matriculation examinations and unification of the system--could have radically changed the Israeli educational system if they had been enacted. However, such change did not occur. Instead, NEPS strategic decision to disseminate information through informal education used an already existing policy by expanding it. The tactical decision also consisted of incremental adaptations of existing programs and activities.

In the beginning of this paper, I cited the assumption that crisis situations can stimulate or may lead to radical changes in governmental policy. This was found not to be the case during the Israeli post-war crisis period under study; rather, the decision making process pertaining to the civic education issue continued to yield mostly incremental change.

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Policy Development in Higher Education in A Tropical African Setting

by

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Although the topic Policy Development in Higher Education in a Tropical African Setting is broad enough to allow discussion of African higher education in general terms or to narrow it to a specific African country, this paper generally discusses higher education and the environment within which higher education operates in Africa.

First, I shall clarify some of the terms indicated in the topic. By "policy" I mean statements or public declarations that are used as guides for action. By "development" I mean the making of new policies or the change of existing ones. At times, the word development is intended to be similar to the process for policy making. By "higher education" I mean all education beyond the secondary level.

African Setting

Africa is a vast continent with more than 40 countries; however, most outside visitors to Africa refer to it as though it is one country. This is often considered a compliment to the people of Africa since this attitude of sameness and oreness is one to which the people of Africa aspire. African people subscribe to pan-Africanism, not only because of their natural geographic proximity, but because of their common experience and similar aspirations for improving their livelihood. Such an attitude does not mean that every country in Africa duplicates each other; rather, each African country has its own unique features in its history, social and economic development, and each has its own approach to and priority for

development. This uniqueness of each country is usually missed by outside observers of Africa.

As you would anticipate, I can hardly cover the policy issues and characteristics of each African country. Thus, I have chosen only characteristics common to most African countries and ones which I believe have direct impact on the development of policies in education, including the following:

1. African countries are generally poor, and the people live at a subsistence level. The primary source of subsistence is agriculture which is the main occupation for 80 to 90 percent of the population.

2. Few citizens of African countries live in luxury.

3. Africa has very inefficient and insufficient government organizations. The government organizations inherited from the colonial powers have not changed, or if they have changed, the change has been negligible. The governments, or may I say the persons, in power since independence have not shown the willingness to establish a political system which would allow the population to participate in determining their destiny. Consequently, the option for African people today and perhaps for a long time to come is to change governments they perceive as being undesirable by physical revolution.

5. Most African people cannot read and write. Furthermore, Africa has very few institutions of higher learning to prepare skilled manpower for government, education, and other economic and social activities. Consequently, much of the high level manpower for teaching positions in

high schools and post-secondary institutions as well as other occupations, come from outside Africa.[1]

These few characteristics of Africa are not intended to be all inclusive. They are indicated here as examples of those constraints that have direct and indirect implications on higher learning.

Many say that it is obvious that Africa is poor and as some people say, because it is poor. At the moment it lacks physical capital, a skilled labor force including high level manpower, and a per capita income of not more than U. S. $100 annually. In other words, Africa has very few resources in its present state of economic development. Limited resources make imperative the careful allocation of scarce resources to areas that would yield a noticeable difference in the lives of African people. Such planning is not an easy job, even under the best of circumstances; however, the recognition of these constraints may help to prepare strategies and alternatives to overcome the major bottlenecks for economic and social development.

African governments and African people realize that lack of education is a major bottleneck to whatever development a country intends to pursue. In short, education is assumed to be a solution to all ills and problems. Paulos Milkias, writing about Ethiopian traditional education, expressed this view when he said,

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[1]Paul Hoffman, "One Hundred Countries: One and One Quarter Billion People." John W. Hanson and S. Brembeck Cole (eds.), Education and the Demand of Nations (New York, 1966, p. 45.

> It is a truism that education, as a conveyer belt of human values, skills, ideas, and facts, is an integral aspect of a society's reproduction of itself. The conflicts and tensions that germinate in a given society, the solutions, both functional and dysfunctional, that the political system generates to resolve them find their way into the educational system and condition its structure and content.[2]

Yes, educators and others have repeatedly told us that education is a product of a given society and is a factor of social change of that society. But to say that African education was created by the African society and designed as a factor for social change is, perhaps, questionable. In most cases, the African education was primarily designed to serve the societies outside Africa. The African schools of today reflect the variety of colonial models imposed on them, and it is not difficult to observe the transplant of European education systems into the African setting for European purposes.

Kabwasa, writing about this colonial legacy, observed that the current disparities in the organizations and functions of schools in Africa simply reflect the differences in the organizations and functions of the past metropolitan educational enterprises of the European countries.[3]

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[2]Paulos Milkias, "Traditional Institutions and Traditional Elites: The Role of Education in the Ethiopian Body-Politic," African Studies Review (December 1976), XIX, 3, p. 79.

[3]Nsang O'Khan Kabwasa, "Breaking the Stranglehold of the School - The Case of Education for Development Using Correspondence Education to Train Illiterate Farmers in Africa," a paper delivered at the XXth Annual Convention of the Comparative and International Education Society (Canada, 1971), p. 1.

This global statement may not tell us the efforts of African countries since independence. African countries have certainly taken steps to bring education in line with the aspirations and perceived needs of the African people. In this connection, I will cite some examples of policies and actions taken by African countries in regard to higher education.

Development of Higher Education

Let me briefly review the historical perspective of higher education in tropical or subsaharan Africa. Most institutions of higher learning in tropical Africa were established since the 1940's. Only the Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone which was operating since 1876 has a longer history of existence.

The development of higher education in Africa, therefore, has to be seen within the context of time and purpose. Higher learning institutions in Africa were located in Africa, if I may say so, simply for convenience during the colonial period. Except institutions in Ethiopia and Liberia, the African institutions of higher education were administered primarily by universities in Great Britain or France. The African universities and other similar institutions operated to satisfy the requirements of the institutions with which they had affiliation; consequently, the African higher education institutions were for all practical purposes, replicas of institutions outside Africa. Degrees granted by African universities were awarded by universities located outside the continent.

The higher education system and levels of formal education in Africa did not represent the indigenous wishes of the African people. As a result, these institutions of higher learning had very little functional relationship with the needs of the societies where they are located. I

might add that the higher learning institutions in Africa have accumulated prestige and tradition that are difficult to change. K. Bacchus of the University of Alberta, writing on the development of teacher education in the third world, said that, "Prestige increases the difficulty of adapting the higher institutions to the local environment in such a way that they would fulfill the expectations of the local population and at the same time make maximum contribution towards meeting the social and economic needs of these societies."[4] Similarly, Funfunwa and Hanson, describing the experience of Nigeria, said that "the job of spearheading educational reform in Nigeria has taken place in new universities rather than involving the more difficult task of changing already developed and revered institutional traditions."[5]

My own personal observation tells me that as long as there are some revered institutions in a country, the new institutions are likely to adjust themselves to the already established standards. I am convinced that there must be a basic change of values to give prestige to new institutions which attempt to meet the local needs instead of maintaining the prestige of an institution on its history. Whatever the result, African countries are attempting to bring education in line with their social and economic development. Examples of such attempts follow in the next section.

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[4] M. K. Bacchus, "Some Developments and Problems of Teacher Education in the Third World." a paper delivered at a Conference on Teacher Education and International Relations sponsored by I.C.E.T. and the University of Lethbridge (Canada, 1971), p. 1.

[5] A. Babs Funfunwa and John W. Hanson, "The Post-Independence Nigeria Universities," in Philip G. Altbach (ed.), University Reform: Comparative Perspectives for the Seventies (Massachusetts, 1974), p. 97.

The Addis Ababa Plan

Education became a high priority in government activities and policy developments immediately after independence. Most African leaders envisaged lack of education as being responsible for colonialization and underdevelopment. They thought that the only way to guarantee their newly acquired political independence was to educate the masses. Concurrently, the African states desired to satisfy as many wants as possible within the existing stock of resources, thus confronting leaders and people with the dilemma of which direction to take.

And so the search for new educational set-ups, better suited to the African conditions, the staggering expenditures required for education, and the shortage of trained manpower for social and economic planning and implementation were, among other things, the reasons for the "Conference of African States on the Development of Education" in Addis Ababa in May, 1961.

The purpose of the Conference, in which 39 governments participated, 24 governments observed, and 34 United Nations and other international non-governmental organizations took part, was "to provide a forum for African States to decide their priority educational needs to promote economic and social development in Africa and, . . . to establish a first tentative short-term and long-term plan for education development in the continent. . . . [6] Specifically, the Conference examined the following four topics:

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[6] UNECA and UNESCO, Conference on African States on the Development of Education in Africa (Addis Ababa, 1961), p.v.

1. The development of education in relation to African cultural and socio-cultural factors;

2. the inventory of educational needs for economic and social development;

3. education as a basic factor in economic and social development;

4. patterns of international cooperation for the promotion and implementation of programs of educational development.[7]

The Conference produced a number of recommendations to be adapted as policies for Africa. These recommendations covered the following areas:

(a) Financial and material needs -- African states acknowledged the need for international assistance to supplement national funds for school construction, salaries for expatriate teachers, scholarships abroad for specialized training not available in Africa, and for acquiring school building materials from abroad.

(b) The need for teachers at secondary and post-secondary levels was too high to be met locally. As a result, African states need teachers to meet the requirements of the existing secondary and post-secondary schools and for expansion.

(c) The need for new curriculum directions designed especially to meet the needs of rural life.

(d) The need to expand higher education to provide essential technological, governmental, business and social services.

(e) The need for planning educational development as a part of overall national planning.

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[7] Ibid, p. vi.

The African states ascertained that the "expansion of higher education in Africa will require not only costly new and enlarged institutions, but hundreds of expatriate professors to give instruction until Africa has an adequate number of its own scholars."[8] Furthermore, the African states committed themselves to provide places at the post-secondary level for 20 percent of those who complete secondary education within a time span of 20 years in order to raise the participation rate of the appropriate age from 0.2 percent in 1961-62 to 2 percent in 1980-81.

Such a plan is, in some ways, an expression of intention and wishes on the part of the African states because of financial implications, to say nothing of other requirements, was beyond the means of African states. For example, the estimated cost of the total education (1st, 2nd, and 3rd level) shows that of the total requirement of the U. S. $4,150 million for a short-term period of 1961-65 alone, U. S. $1,310 million was expected to come from outside Africa. The cost of higher education was to grow from U. S. $37.5 million in 1961-62 to U. S. $562.4 million in 1980-81. After 1980, Africa is expected to have the resources absorb these educational costs.[9]

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[8] Ibid, p. 8.

[9] Ibid, p. 14.

The Addis Ababa Conference certainly produced a number of guidelines for action, and it has created a forum for further discussion. Higher education was given the highest priority and thus enabled higher level manpower in technology, administration, and education to be trained. In addition, the African States agreed at the Conference to gear the expansion of higher education to the training needs of the states in which the institutions are situated and to the requirements of other African countries. Second priority was given to the reform of curriculum and teaching techniques.

One of the interesting outcomes of the Addis Ababa Conference is the recognition of African education as an investment. The African countries justified this ideology on two grounds: (1) Education's high cost imposes a limit on the resources which each country can devote to it, and (2) the effect of education on productive capacity justifies the expenditure entailed. Hence, the African States advocated the establishment of planning units for continuous planning of educational work as part of economic development.

This May Conference of African states on education, therefore, was not only the first of its kind in an African context but also produced a tangible educational plan known as the "Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development."

Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa

The second Conference which dealt particularly with higher education took place in Tananarive in September 1972. The purpose if this Conference was, among other things, to identify possible solutions to:

> (a) problems of choice and adaptation of the higher education curriculum to the conditions of African life and development, and the training of specialized personnel for public administration and economic development techniques; (b) problems of administration, organization, structure and financing encountered in the creation or development of institutions of higher education both from the point of view of the institutions themselves and from the wider angle of national policy.[10]

Although I will not review all the deliberations of the Conference, I shall mention some of the recommendations and relevant aspects which clarified the role of higher education in Africa. The role of African higher education as envisaged by the Conference included the following:

1. To maintain adherence and loyalty to world academic standards;
2. to insure the unification of Africa;
3. to encourage elucidation of and appreciation for African culture and heritage and to dispel misconceptions of Africa, through research and teaching African studies;
4. to develop completely the human resources for meeting manpower needs;
5. to train the "whole man" for nation building;
6. to evolve over the years a truly African pattern of higher learning dedicated to Africa and its people yet promoting a bond of kinship to the larger human society.[11]

The Tananarive Conference of African States further recommended that African higher education must preserve the principles of academic freedom: to be able to inquire, to debate and to disseminate, as well as to acquire knowledge.

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[10] UNESCO, The Development of Higher Education in Africa: Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa (Tannanarive, 1962), p. 5.

[11] Ibid, p. 19.

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The Conference also recommended the establishment of permanent machinery to enable the universities to discuss and keep themselves informed of questions of common interest. The African Association of Universities was born as a result of this Conference, even though it was not formally inaugurated until 1967 in Rabat. This Association is now most influential in teaching and research and in the exchange of professors and students among African universities.

Some Basic Issues

In conclusion I wish to raise a few issues related to the influence of continental declarations on higher education in Africa.

1. The cooperative efforts of African States on the Africanization of degrees, diplomas, and school leaving examinations. African countries, especially the Anglophone countries, have somewhat nationalized the right to issue their own degrees or diplomas and to administer their own examinations for primary and secondary school leaving. The Francophone African countries approached the problem differently. They negotiated with France to award their own degrees which would be acceptable and equivalent to those in the French higher education system.

J. Ki-Zerbo, writing on the Africanization of higher education curriculum, said that this equivalency arrangement demands an absolute conformity with any structure or reforms that take place elsewhere without regard to the needs

of African countries.[12] I agree with Ki-Zerbo. Africanization in this instance does not allow the adaptation of higher education to the needs of the African situation.

2. The question of academic freedom. The various conferences on African higher education seem to have accepted the principle of academic freedom for institutions of higher learning. Recently, some African countries are questioning the merit of leaving the universities and other similar institutions outside the influence of the political machinery. Tanzania is perhaps a leader in advocating this view.[13] I sense that the era of so-called academic freedom will eventually become an ancedote in African history, but what will be the consequence of the absence of academic freedom in the African context?

3. Curriculum for the African setting. The adaptation of curriculum and teaching techniques to the African condition is one of the major concerns of higher education in Africa. By and large, this expressed intention is still at the stage of rhetoric.

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[12] J. Ki-Zerbo, "Africanization of Higher Education Curriculum," in T. M. Yesufu (ed.), Creating the African University: Emerging Issues in the 1970's (Nigeria, 1973), p. 21.

[13] Donald G. W. Schutte, "The University of Dar es Salaam: A Socialist Enterprise," in W. Roy Niblett and R. Freeman Butts (eds.), Universities Facing the Future (London, 1972), pp. 75-96.

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Aboriginal Australia, Educational Policy, and the Contribution of Anthropology

by

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Educational Policy for Aborigines in Australia

The Australian Aboriginals were the earliest inhabitants of Australia. Today they number about 140,000 of whom 50,000 can be identified as Aborigines, and 90,000 as being of aborigine descent. This distinction is made here because the mixed-descent Aborigines are widely dispersed across Australia and are at varying degrees of acculturation to the white society. Until recently, this dispersion has allowed some states to overlook the presence of Aborgines, and clearly defined policies on Aborigine education have not been formulated. In these states the educational authorities in the past have made no specific provision for the education of Aborigine children who were merged into the general educational stream. About eighty percent of the 50,000 pure-descent Aborigines live in two states: 25,000 in the Northern Territory and 15,000 in Queensland. In the Northern Territory, Aborigines comprise about twenty-five percent of the total population. These Aborgines have acculturated to the white society to a limited extent; therefore, they are much more evident in that state and policies concerning their education have been explicity formulated. Some policies developed in the Northern Territory have been adopted recently in the other states, thus providing a model for the formulation of Aborigine educational policy in Australia.

Specific educational policies for Aborigines lead to broader social policies regarding Aborigines in Australian society. The general trends in the development of these policies can be adumbrated as follows:

Until the Second World War social policy was largely protective. During the colonial period the Aborigine population was decimated through disease introduced by the colonists, and in some cases through massacres and poisoning. Protective policies had been established in the early twentieth century but few expected that Aborigines would be saved from extinction. Whereas the thrust of these policies was to "smooth the pillow of a dying race," at best they provided ration stations where the still semi-nomadic Aborigines could obtain food, clothing, and blankets.

Prior to the Second World War, in recognition of the then increasing Aborigine population, steps were taken towards formulating positive policies for Aborigines, which culminated in the policy of assimilation. This policy was defined as follows:

> The policy of assimilation aims at ensuring that all Aborigines and part-Aborigines will attain the same manner of living as other Australians and live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians. Under this policy any special measures taken for Aborigines and part-Aborigines are regarded as temporary measures, not based on race but intended to meet their need for special care and assistance, to protect them from any ill effects of sudden change and to assist them to make the transition from one stage to another in such a way as will be favourable to their social, economic, and political advancement. (Watts and Gallaher 1964:43)

Following the 1973 election of Australia's first Labor Government in more than two decades, the policy of self-determination replaced the policy of assimilation. This policy provided for greater involvement of Aborigines in determining policies which affected them and, in practice, allowed local Aborigine groups considerable autonomy in deciding local issues.

The educational policies broadly reflected these social policies. During the protective phase little provision was made for education except in the missions where schools played an integral role on proselytization.

The implementation of assimilation policy required a program to assist Aborigines to assimilate into mainstream Australia. Education was regarded as a very important component of this program. In the Northern Territory new Aborigine communities were established. Ration depots were upgraded so that all communities were staffed with Welfare Officers who provided training enabling adult Aboriginals to acquire the social and vocational skills. Schools, central to these communities, were expected to assist the children towards assimilation.

The major statement of educational policy during this assimilationist phase came in 1964 in the form of a report to the Federal Minister for Territories on the curriculum and teaching methods used in Aborigine schools in the Northern Territory (Watts and Gallaher 1964). This report, commissioned by the Federal Government, contained many recommendations about curriculum, teaching method and school organization. In addition, it contained a statement of the fundamental principles which should underlie Aborigine education:

> The education of Aborigine children must take cognisance of the European and Aborigine cultures and must be developed in such a way as to help the Aborigines to achieve their own integration of Aborigine and European beliefs and ways.
>
> The Aborigine culture must be recognized and respected by all teachers and instructors.

> Curriculum content and methods of instruction should be so planned and organized as to ensure to the fullest extent the transfer of school learnings to village living.
>
> Education, as an instrument of social progress, must be conceived as a continuing process, and emphasis should be placed on the development of appropriate programmes for all age groups. Every effort should be made to lessen the dichotomy that exists between the young and old. (Watts and Gallaher 1964:53)

The policy of self-determination allowed Aborigine communities opportunities for choosing school programs. To assist communities in choosing among educational programs, the Federal Government commissioned the senior author of the 1964 report on Aborigine education, Dr. Betty Watts, and two other educational advisers, to report on the feasibility of a bilingual education program in Aborigine schools. This report advocated introducing bilingual education in Aborigine communities which indicated an agreement to and support of the principle of bilingual education. When accepted by a community the aims of bilingual education were:

> To foster greater proficiency in school work by the use of the Aborigine language where appropriate.
>
> To develop competency in reading and writing in the Aborigine language.
>
> To develop competency in reading and writing in English.
>
> To develop a more healthy self concept in each child through the systematic use of the Aborigine language as a medium of instruction, and the incorporation of studies of other aspects of Aborigine culture.
>
> To develop closer communication, involvement and mutual understanding between school and community.
>
> To develop a better understanding of both cultures -- that of the Aborigine people themselves (and not only of a particular community) and of the dominant non-Aborigine society. (McGrath 1975:51)

The foregoing has outlined the development of educational policy in Aborigine Australia. However, my concern in this paper is not to detail the development of these policies but to provide the reader with an understanding of the process by which these policies were formulated.

Process of Policy Development

Aborigine educational policy formulation was constrained by the broader social policies, and educational policy makers were not totally free to develop a unique policy. Yet within the broad outlines of the social policy opportunities for diverse approaches to educational policy existed. Authors of the 1964 and the 1973 reports were virtually the educational policy makers since both reports were accepted and acted upon by the government. What was the process by which these policies were formulated?

The senior author in each case was a university lecturer with a background in educational psychology who was later to hold the chair in special education in the university and who also had an interest in Aborigine education. In both reports she was assisted by senior departmental education advisers with experience in Aborigine education, education in developing areas or in educational policy development in the upper echelons of government. The authors spent several months preparing the first report, during which time they visited nearly half the Northern Territory communities in which Aborigine schools had been established. Data gathering techniques included attainment testing using tests standardized on mainstream Australian children; observation of teaching methods; discussion of educational programs with teachers, children, parents, officers of the Aborigine Welfare Branch, and with leading educationists in the other states and universities; observations of community life; and background reading on the history of Aborigine education and on education in developing countries and in countries with

minority groups. The 1973 report, although completed in a shorter period, used a similar approach.

Before proceeding I want to affirm that both reports made valuable contributions to educational policy in Aborigine Australia. They are examples of ways in which educational policy can be formulated using research while remaining within the parameters of broad social policies developed within the political arena. Yet one aspect of these reports remains puzzling and forms the central concern of this paper. Although I have no evidence, I suspect this enigma also applies to the development of educational policy in other developing countries.

In both reports the issue of cultural relevance is paramount. The linking of school and community and the importance of considering the children's social and cultural environment is stressed. The concern of culture is central to both reports, yet in neither case was extensive use made of those individuals whose specialization is the understanding of Man in his social and cultural context. Social and cultural anthropologists were not consulted, nor did the policy makers attempt an anthropological perspective of Aborigine education as they collected data and formulated policies. In the remainder of this paper I wish to address why greater use is not made of anthropologists in the formulation of educational policy, and to a consideration of their possible contribution to this field.

Why Not Anthropologists?

Singleton (1974:146) has pointed out that educational researchers' and policy makers' conceptual models are empirically oriented and rest upon

psychological or sociological theory. The empirical approach to the collection of educational data usually includes formal instruments and techniques such as achievement and other psychologically oriented tests, questionnaires and representative samples. This orientation is reflected in the reports discussed above: the senior author had a background in educational psychology, attainment tests were used, and an effort was made to obtain data from a large percentage of the communities.

The anthropologist, with a holistic orientation, has an entirely different perspective of the collection of data. Sindell described this process:

> Anthropologists are committed to ethnographic fieldwork entailing direct observation and participation in the flow of life surrounding them. Lengthy immersion in an alien culture (for at least a year initially, followed by return visits when possible), knowledge of the indigenous language and collection of a wide range of data utilizing diverse methods are generally considered to be requisites for gaining a sensitive and accurate understanding of a sociocultural situation and its dynamics. . . .
>
> When gathering and analyzing data anthropologists pay constant attention to the interdependence of phenomena; they tend to think in terms of cultural patterns and configurations. They attempt to see how each discrete fact relates to the total matrix of other facts collected on the sociocultural situation. Furthermore, there is a strong concern for the undeclared meanings and latent functions of behavior (the "covert culture") as well as for the immediately observable content and manifest function. (Sindell 1970:593)

Educators find this orientation unfamiliar and tend to be suspicious of its validity. To them the ethnography (the field anthropologist's basic descriptive report of the social life of some group of people) looks too much like the report of a sensitive journalist rather than the work of an objective investigator. This is not to invalidate the data gathering methods used in the reports discussed previously; nevertheless, it does point out that the anthropologist may be able to provide significant data

otherwise unavailable to educational policy makers. Furthermore, these data may complement the data gathered by the other methods, and, more significantly, may conflict with other data as a result of investigators' different mind sets.

Educational policy makers are suspicious of the validity of ethnography and of the relatively high investment, low yield it presents. The investment is high because both fieldwork and report writing are lengthy. The yield is low because the focus is broad, the significance of events is not always clear in the mass of descriptive data, and since the data pertain only to one field site generalizations must be made carefully.

Another handicap to the employment of anthropologists in policy related educational research is that anthropologists have a "stubborn streak about research; they do not like other people to define research problems for them." (Wolcott 1971:113). The anthropologist's preference to determine which problems are interesting and relevant is often not acceptable to the policy-oriented sponsors who are wary of receiving data which they consider irrelevant or tangential to the particular aspects of policy which concern them.

A further obstacle to the use of anthropological data by educational policy makers is that in many cases anthropologists have not addressed those issues particularly relevant to policy. Although policy makers often have data available on world view, social organization, values, and cognition, the segment of cultural anthropology with the greatest potential relevance to education is cultural transmission. Yet the study of cultural

transmission is not a dominant force in contemporary cultural anthropology. Gearing notes that from 1930 to 1950 a remarkable number of anthropologists addressed themselves directly to cultural transmission but their attention to this topic was not sustained. (In Honigmann 1973:1224-5) In Australian anthropology, social organization and religion have dominated the thinking of social anthropologists and little data on Aborigine cultural transmission is available.

Nor are anthropologists eager to become involved in educational policy issues. In her retiring address as president of the Council on Anthropology and Education, Elizabeth Eddy urged her fellow anthropologists to contribute to educational policy. She acknowledged that anthropologists do not have all the data that they need; however, they do have knowledge of some types of data required. In addition, she indicated that unless they take the initiative in addressing the information they do have to the policy makers, then the social and human dimensions with which they are concerned are likely to be overlooked. (Eddy 1976:30-1)

With this exhortation in mind, I now turn to the potential contributions of anthropology to educational policy making. The areas I explore are not intended to be exhaustive. Instead I have chosen the areas of ethnographic studies, studies of learning and thinking, and social organization studies as suggestive of the potential contribution of anthropology.

Ethnographic Studies

Although anthropologists would not claim to advise policy makers on the propriety of a particular policy, they have some theoretical constructs which may be of assistance to policy makers in analyzing the relationship

between the policy and the culture in which it is implemented. Anthropologists regard the school as part of the process of cultural transmission and from this perspective, the concepts of cultural continuity-discontinuity offer some insights into education and educational policy.

Cultures vary in the degree to which the development from child to adult is a smooth and continous transition. Most cultures provide for points in the individual's life cycle when discontinuities, or breaks with previous experience occur. These discontinuities indicate than an individual encounters experiences which are qualitatively different from those encountered previously. Spindler (1974) gives examples of discontinuity. On the Micronesian Island of Palau the child experiences cultural discontinuity when he is about five years old. Suddenly he stops getting his own way; he begins to be told what to do and many of his demands are refused. Another Micronesian community, Ulithi, provides considerable cultural continuity until the child is a young adult when initiation signals cultural discontinuity. After initiation the young Ulithian adults are expected to behave no longer as children.

Cultural continuity-discontinuity is one perspective for the analysis of educational policy. Ethnographic studies of school and community may permit policy makers to see the extent to which the policy provides for continuity or discontinuity. This may be of assistance in determining whether the end being achieved is desirable. Any culture into which schools are introduced will involve some degree of cultural discontinuity. Moving from the home and parents to the school and teacher provides a new set of experiences and behaviors which constitute cultural discontinuity for the child. The degree of discontinuity can vary greatly and will depend largely on the policy being implemented.

Some policies are designed to minimize cultural continuity and to maximize cultural discontinuity. Dorothy Eggan (1974) has shown how the Hopi use discontinuity to reinforce the continuation of their culture. During initiation the Hopi children experience severe discontinuity when, after they are whipped by the Kachinas, they discover that these "gods" are really kinsmen. Furthermore the adults begin to make ever-increasing demands for more mature behavior. Although the initiates experience some sense of disenchantment and resentment they are not completely disorganized by this discontinuity. In fact the shock seems to arouse a need in the initiate to belong to the adult world, to fully accept the roles and statuses of an adult Hopi. Eggan quotes the experience of one initiate: "I thought of the flogging and the initiation as the turning point in my life, and I felt ready at last to listen to my elders and live right" (In Spindler 1974:322).

Discontinuity can be a means to cultural continuity; a means of ensuring that the individual becomes committed to his/her cultural system; a means of recruiting the individual to the system and of maintaining that system. Some educational policies, however, have the intent of using the schools as discontinuities which commit the individual to a cultural system different from that which s/he previously experienced. In these situations discontinuities do not reinforce the traditional values or commit the individual to the existing cultural system; in fact, they usually attempt to negate the traditional values and the existing system. Educational policies of this genre usually are associated with social policies of assimilation or integration and can be viewed as policies of acculturation rather than enculturation.

Wolcott's (1967) study of the Kwakiutl village and school describes great discontinuities. The school is physically separate from the community. The language of instruction is English rather than Kwakwala. The teacher is from the white mainstream society. The school operates on a rigid daily and annual schedule while village activities are based on variable tide times and seasonal routines. School involves compulsory completion of tasks while the community enforces few tasks. School activities bear little relation to village life. In a later paper Wolcott (1974) indicates that the educational policy was that of assimilation, and inherent in this policy was an emphasis on severe discontinuities which effected a genuine break with the continuity obtained through the functional approach may reduce much of the hostility and antagonism.

Modiano's study, Indian Education in the Chiapas Highlands, also indicates that extreme discontinuities may be successful. The study reveals that the severe discontinuities associated with the relatively highly trained non-Indian teachers ensures that neither acculturation or any other form of educational achievement occurs. Indian teachers provide some continuity in language and the values they share with the children and they are able to achieve some academic successes with their pupils. This achievement is in spite of little formal training in education and even though their teaching methods of memorization and role learning contrast sharply with the Indian concept of learning (which emphasizes "becoming accustomed" to tasks through performance). Although these findings can only be regarded as tentative, they offer policy makers potential insights into the policies of acculturation and bilingual academic achievement.

Howard's Learning to be Rotuman offers policy makers a very different view of discontinuity. He states:

> The learning that takes place in school constitutes preparation for a world the children have never seen - a world as remote to them as it was to their ancestors. In the artificial setting of the schoolroom they learn, in a language they rarely speak outside of school, about places, things, and events for which their own experience provides almost no referent. (p. 63)

This view contrasts with neither the Kwakiutl or the Chiapas studies. School involves great discontinuity in each culture. But Howard continues:

> The startling thing is that they do learn; in fact many of them learn well enough to go on to higher education in Fiji, New Zealand, and elsewhere and succeed in competition with Europeans. (p. 63)

The key to this academic success appears to be the cultural continuity provided by native Rotuman teachers. Their sharing the same culture as the children has enabled them to "alter their teaching techniques to accommodate the expressive code and influence strategies characteristic of Rotuman culture" (p. 63). The Rotumn policy, although not markedly different from those discussed previously, involves considerable continuity as well as discontinuity.

The foregoing studies are examples of the possibilities offered by ethnographic studies to educational policy making. The continuity-discontinuity concept is a means of describing the implementation of a particular policy, thus assisting policy makers in determining if the outcome is that which was intended. Such an approach may also be useful in determining new policy. New policy proposals may be clarified by examining the degree to which they potentially involve cultural continuity and discontinuity. Their formulation may be facilitated if policy makers clearly understand the extent to which they are seeking cultural continuity and discontinuity.

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Anthropological Studies of Learning and Thinking

In the introduction to his 1964 paper, Culture and the Logical Process, Gladwin observed:

> Of all the fields of inquiry into human behavior, anthropology with its primary emphasis on the regularities of behavior as they are transmitted through culture from one generation to the next, is the one which most consistently ignores the cognitive learning involved in this cultural transmission. . . Aside from Hullian theory, attention to the processes of learning and thinking, and to the nature of intelligence, has been minimal in anthropology. . . More recently the emerging field of psycholinguistics and contributions to a few symposia have reflected a growing interest in cognitive categories and processes, but this remains a scattered effort. (In Goodenough 1964:167-8)

Since then a number of contributions to this field, including the reader Cognitive Anthropology (Tyler, 1969), have appeared. Some contributors are anthropologists who have turned their attention to cognition, e.g., Gladwin, Frake; others are scholars in psychology who have adopted anthropological approaches to their research, e.g., Cole, Glick. In this section of the paper I will briefly examine the possible contribution of each of these groups of scholars to educational policy making.

Anthropologically oriented research into learning and thinking suggests to policy makers that there are cultural variations in methods of knowing and in learning styles, thus speculation about methods and styles obtained in the policy population. In some cases investigators are able to present data which document the cognitive style of the policy population. They are able to suggest that the cognitive style of the policy population may be a factor in determining educational policy. Gay and Cole's 1967 mathematics studies among the Kpelle of Liberia indicate the importance of considering these cultural variations. The Liberian policy makers adopted an American-developed mathematics curriculum on which the Kpelle children performed poorly. In their efforts to understand this failure Gay and Cole discovered that in comparison with American subjects the Kpelle performed poorly on some mathematical tasks (e.g., sorting cards into categories according to symbols) but on other tasks (e.g., estimating the number of cups of rice in a bowl) they performed much better than the American subjects. In this and in later more expanded studies (Cole et al 1971) these investigators concluded that the observed differences in cognitive performance between nonliterate and literate Kpelle, and between Kpelle and American subjects, are related to differences in the applications of different kinds of cognition rather than differences in the kinds of cognition of which they are capable. (Swartz 1973:388)

Similarly, Gladwin's (1970) study of the system used by the Puluwat (Micronesia) navigators reveals that other non-literate peoples are capable of outstanding intellectual performances in one sphere of activity (navigation) but perform poorly in another (seriation tasks). As with the literate Kpelle, Puluwatan students who had been educated in Western-style high schools performed well on the seriation tasks.

Studies of this genre may be able to suggest to policy makers that Western education has an impact on the cognition of the students and that decisions about adopting Western education is not only one that must be made but is also one of the most significant aspects of policy making. Glick states that "cognition...is not a "trait" held in greater or lesser degree by people. Rather, it is always an adaptive instrument, suited to the demands of an environment as seen by the subject" (1974:381). In opting for a particular style of education, policy makers are deciding that particular learning situations will be created which call for the application of particular cognitive processes. In so doing they must consider the extent to which these cognitive processes will meet the demands of their social and physical environment.

Anthropologically oriented studies about learning and thinking at this stage are really only able to help policy makers frame the questions. Although currently unable to provide much guidance concerning the implementation and effect of alternative styles of education, some promising developments exist. Cohen (1969) has been investigating the relationship between socialization patterns and conceptual styles, suggesting that formal primary group socialization patterns (typically Western middle class) are related to an analytical conceptual style while informal primary group socialization patterns are related to a relational conceptual style. Castaneda et al, (1975) extend these concepts to suggest ways in which children can be taught to use differing cognitive styles and thus achieve cognitive flexibility. As these approaches develop along with those of the Cole-Gladwin genre, policy makers in developing countries will have a stronger data base for determining appropriate learning environments.

Social Organization Studies

Educational policy making's umbrella extends to issues which include school organization and the organization of educational systems. An important branch of cultural anthropology is the study of social organization which may contribute to decision making about educational organizations.

I am unaware of any anthropological studies which have made a direct contribution to formal organizations in any society; however, two political scientists have begun to show a relationship between the social organization of a society and the formal organizations existing in that society.

Abegglen (1973) indicates that Japanese social organization is characterized by the idea of kinship by blood, marriage, adoption, or service, and by the idea of a hierarchy which is conceived on the father-son model (p. 162). These basic aspects of Japanese culture are very obvious in factory organization. Abegglen quotes a factory president referring to the employees' 'second birth' through their adoption into the company. On entering employment the worker commits himself the company for the rest of his working career; he becomes a permanent part of the organization and finds his place in the 'kinship' system. Consonant with this 'kin' concept, the recruitment procedure concentrates on qualities of character and behavior not directly related to the work situation, as well as on general ability. The emphasis seems to be on recruiting suitable people instead of the selection of human tools which have particular skills and attributes which contribute to the machine-like functions of the organization.

Kin orientation is also reflected in the reward system. Salary is based on factors which often have little direct relationship to productivity but which reveal the kinship theme: Base pay is dependent on workers' edu-

cational level; family allowance is related to family size; age allowance is incrementally based on age; job-rank allowance is an increment for persons with various levels of responsibility. As a member of the 'kin' system individual productivity is not a salient issue; instead, relationships of age and family situation are important.

The company as 'family' does not end with salary: generous welfare provisions include meals, dormitories, public baths, housing, schooling, and shopping and hospital facilities. Furthermore, decision making tends to be in groups (a reflection of family and village counsels) characterized by imprecisely defined levels of authority and communication paths. Such a system makes it impossible for any individual ever to have responsibility for making decisions or errors fixed upon him so that each individual's prestige, reputation and relations with others can be retained with integrity.

Crozier (1964) suggests that social organization in France is characterized by a valuing of individual equality of egalitarianism to the extent that attempts at organization at a formal or informal level are rated in the wider society because they are often interpreted as an attempt to obtain rank and status and are therefore resisted and rejected. Free group activity and cooperative enterprise are almost non-existent and in general the individual exists in comparative isolation. Concomitant with this position is a valuing of the avoidance of direct face-to-face authority relationships. Crozier's analysis of French formal organizations focuses on a clerical agency and an industrial monopoly. He concludes that the French social organization is dysfunctional within the formal organization in several ways. Impersonal rules are developed to such an extent that they delimit

the functions of each individual to the point of prescribing behavior to be followed in case of all possible events. Also, they explicitly determine job allocations. The highly centralized organizations provide for decisions which are not covered by the detailed rules to be made at levels far removed from the locus of the problem situation, thus decision makers are protected and insulated from those directly affected by the decisions. These decisions are usually made with an insufficient knowledge base. The centralization and the highly developed system of rules virtually ensures that each level or stratum in the organizational hierarchy will be quite isolated from the levels above and below. Thus pressure cannot be brought to bear on an individual from the stratum above and informal resistance groups to not form as they do in many organizations where the upper strata exerts pressure on the lower. Individuals at the same level recognize the manner in which the formalized rules protect them and in order to maintain this protection there is considerable emphasis on the maintenance of peer group rules. The formal group maintains the system and the individual remains comparatively isolated in the organization: His position is clearly defined, as are his relations with peers, superiors and subordinates.

Although Crozier labels this organizational behavior as dysfunctional it may well be functional in the relative sense. Reflecting the French social organization, it may be the best possible French structure and in the context of French culture, any other form or organization may be more dysfunctional. What I am trying to suggest here is that the most functional formal organizations within a particular society may be the one that allows

the fullest expression of the social organization of that society. The Japanese factory organization provides continuity in the family or kinship orientation which is found in the broader social organization. The French formal organization reflects the individualistic isolation orientation of the French social organization. In planning their educational organizations policy makers in developing countries may profit from examining the anthropological studies of social organization within their societies. At best they may be able to plan functional organizations which allow full expression of the social organization. Alternatively these studies may help them to recognize possible areas of conflict between the formal organization and the social organization.

Conclusion

The brief analysis of the development of educational policy for Australian Aboriginal schools at the commencement of this paper introduced its central concern: The possible contribution of anthropology to educational policy in developing countries. In Australia, anthropologists have made little contribution to educational policy, but as one commentator notes: "We...are good at making policy statements, but we are usually not greatly disturbed by the failure of subsequent events to accord with these statements" (Penny 1975:12). My contention is that educational policy making in non-Western societies may be facilitated either by consultation with cultural anthropologists who have some knowledge of the indigenous culture, or by commissioning anthropological research which has relevance to educational policy. I have suggested that ethnographic studies, studies of learning and thinking, and social organization studies may have some contribution to educational policy. As sophistication in applying anthro-

pological perspectives to education increases, it may become possible for anthropologists to carry out "cultural impact studies" designed to show the possible outcomes of the implementation of particular educational policies in much the same way that ecologists are able to contribute to "environmental impact studies" in regard to policies concerned with natural resources.

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